Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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'Pay As You Go' Makes Labor Pay Costs of Capitalist War

Will It Be War or Peace - Who Decides?

An Editorial

Isn't it time the voice of the people was heard in our land on the question of war and peace?

Everybody except the people has had his say. The Senate investigators have listened for hundreds of hours to the brass hat militarists, the boss politicians and the whole crew of capitalist lackeys who are merely the puppets of the war mongers. They have filled volumes with their testimony — and what have they said?

They all say the same thing — war! But the people, the workers like you and your shopmates, and your neighbors, the housewife who talks to the woman down the street while shopping, the students, the GI and his girl friend — they don't want this war. You know this without the conclusive evidence of the poll takers who admit that the majority of the people are opposed to this war.

Who Does the Fighting?

And who fights this war? Who dies on the battlefields? Who sweats in the factories? Who pays for the whole mess — if not the working people? Don't you think it's time they had their say?

In the first place the war in Korea was ordered by Truman without any authorization. Who gave him the right to dispose of the lives of our youth? In the second place, the Congress in the most spineless and cowardly manner permitted this brazen usurpation of authority. It's all too clear that the whole show is being run by that tiny percentage of the population, the big business imperialists.

A Fundamental Right

The **Militant** has been saying for a long time that if the people have any rights this is the fundamental one — to decide the life and death question of war or peace. We don't believe that the capitalist "statesmen" are wiser than the people. On the contrary we think they are sold body and soul to the Wall St. money kings.

If you agree with us and you want to do something about it there is much that you can do. Join the fighting group of **Militant Builders,** get this paper to your friends and shopmates, fight with us to:

1. Stop the war now. Don't let it spread!
2. Withdraw all American troops from Korea!
3. Recognize the government of New China!
4. Let the American people vote on the issue of war and peace in a national referendum!

Militant Campaigner

N.Y. Builds Lead In Sub Contest

By Joseph Hansen, Business Manager

The **New York Local** of the Socialist Workers Party this week rolled up its highest weekly score so far in the Big League Militant Circulation and Sales Campaign. A total of 3,305 points put the New Yorkers well ahead of the **Twin Cities,** who were threatening last week to recover their earlier lead. (One point is scored for each paper sold; 26 points for a six-months subscription; 52 points for a one-year.)

Total subscriptions for the campaign now stand at 1,690; sales of single copies, 21,573.

Detroit, for the second week running, made an impressive showing, scoring 1,847 points and moving closer to the **Twin Cities.** Detroit started neck-and-neck with **Los Angeles** but at the present rate may double the Californians' score.

In the Konikow League, **Boston** moved into third place, pushing **Philadelphia** down to the fourth rung. **Newark,** scoring one of its best weeks, continued to hold second place.

In the Kujac League, **Akron** again forged ahead, cutting down **Oakland's** lead to a bare 16 points.

Among the national pace-setters, **Ernie D.** of Detroit moved up another notch to capture fourth position in the Coover League. And in the Konikow League, **Belle** of **Boston** challenged the lead of **Emmett** of Flint. As we observed last week, it's still anyboy's guess who will win the grand prize in each league of a trip to New York and week's vacation, expenses paid.

New York's excellent showing this week will, we hope, set the pace for the last days of the campaign which closes July 1. Let's put the throttle down to the floor boards!

(More about campaign in "Militant Army" on page 2.)

MILITANT BIG LEAGUE SCOREBOARD

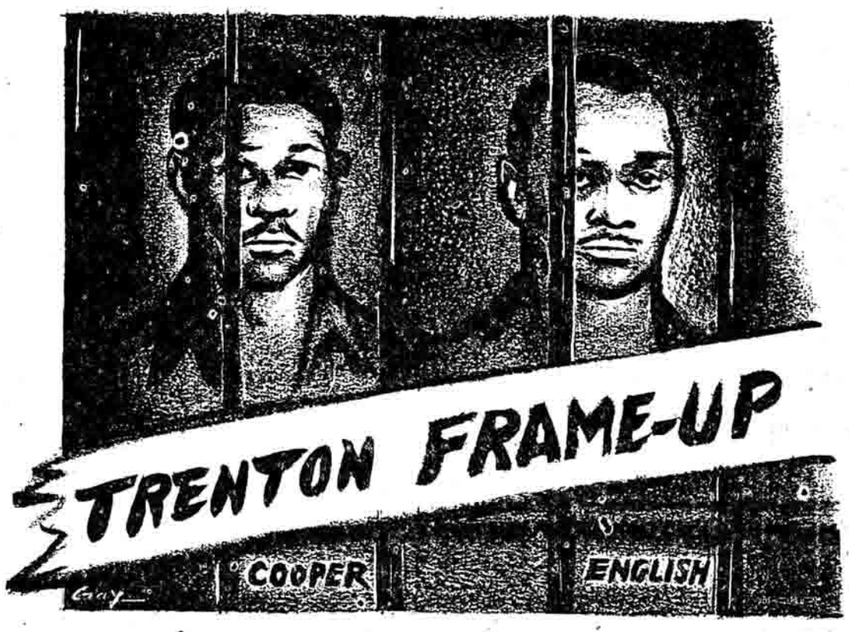
Branch Scores

	Points
Coover League	
New York	16,120
Twin Cities	13,407
Detroit	11,078
Chicago	7,248
Los Angeles	6,360
Buffalo	5,927
Seattle	3,928
San Francisco	3,638
Konikow League	
Flint	3,182
Newark	1,833
Boston	1,690
Philadelphia	1,546
Cleveland	1,108
Youngstown	910
Milwaukee	776
Kujac League	
Oakland	847
Akron	831
New Haven	382
Pittsburgh	372
St. Louis	261
Allentown	195
Toledo	156
West Virginia	130

Individual Scores

		Points
Coover League		
Paul	Twin Cities	3,595
Mary	Chicago	2,374
Don	Buffalo	1,914
Ernie D.	Detroit	1,781
Pauline	Twin Cities	1,687
Winifred	Twin Cities	1,166
John	Los Angeles	1,164
Harry	Twin Cities	1,097
Marie H.	New York	1,064
John R.	Detroit	989
Lucille	New York	958
Jean	Twin Cities	912
Chuck	Detroit	794
Clara K.	Seattle	751
Ruth B.	Detroit	671
Bill B.	Twin Cities	603
Artie	Detroit	598
Myron	New York	591
Konikow League		
Emmett	Flint	966
Belle	Boston	865
Bill	Flint	667
Dotty	Newark	630
Kujac League		
Frank K.	Oakland	603

Free the Trenton Two!



A shameful "compromise" by an all-white New Jersey jury in the Trenton Six case has condemned two innocent young men to imprisonment for life. Not because of any crime they committed but because they happen to be Negroes who were subjected by a brutal police and a ruthless prosecution to a frameup as flagrant as any committed in the South. The two victims found "guilty" on June 14 are: Collis English, 25-year old navy veteran suffering from malaria and a rheumatic heart, and Ralph Cooper.

Both have already spent three years in jail under the shadow of the electric chair along with the four others who were finally freed. Three times these six young Negroes were brought up before the "bar of justice." The first time all six were found guilty and sentenced to die. This conviction was reversed by the State Supreme Court as a "judgment tainted with error" and "against the plainest principles of justice." The second trial ended in a mistrial. Now the third and longest trial in New Jersey's court history resulted in the freeing of four and the sentencing of the two.

The entire case of the prosecution rested on alleged "confessions" extorted from five out of the six defendants. Each "confession" was so worded that a single one sufficed to hang all six defendants. Had these "confessions" been ruled out, the whole case would have automatically collapsed because the police had little or no other evidence to offer.

FORCED CONFESSIONS

It was irrefutably established by the defense that these "confessions" had been extorted by mental and physical torture, by intimidation and grilling for four days and five nights, by the use of drugs and false promises. All but two of these "confessions" were thrown out by the presiding judge. The same judge ruled out a typewritten confession by Cooper, while allowing another — handwritten one — by the same defendant to stand although it was as much dictated by the police as all the others.

The police and the prosecution were also caught red-handed in faking evidence. Having failed to produce the "murder weapon" in the first trial, they corrected this oversight by introducing a bottle. It was identified though its markings by the foreman of the plant manufacturing these bottles as being part of a lot which had not been cleared from the company warehouse before June 1950. But the murder of the Trenton storekeeper took place some two years earlier, in January 1948!

To crown it all, the defendants against whom the police and the prosecution succeeded in making their "strongest" case were declared innocent, while English and Cooper were found guilty by the jury.

If there had not been tremendous public protest against the first verdict all six defendants would by now have been electrocuted, victims of police vengeance. Thanks to the intervention of labor, liberal and Negro organizations, four of the Trenton victims are now free men. This shows what a determined and strong protest movement is capable of accomplishing. But the movement has not yet proved strong enough to force freedom for every one of the defendants.

The crying injustice of the case of the original Trenton Six has now been compounded by the case of the Trenton Two. No organization and individual seriously concerned with safeguarding civil rights, fighting against race prejudice and police brutality ought to rest so long as English and Cooper rot in jail. The case of the Trenton Two must be kept before the public eye. It must be given the widest publicity and support until English and Cooper are set free. All of us working together can do it!

JUNE 26 TRIAL SET IN CASE OF 'LEGLESS VET'

James Kutcher's appeal for reinstatement will be argued before the Federal Court in Washington, D. C., Tuesday, June 26. "The Case of the Legless Veteran" will be the last on the trial calendar before the District Court adjourns for the summer.

Kutcher's attorneys, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., and M. J. Myer, filed a motion for summary judgment June 13 asking the court to revoke Kutcher's discharge from the Newark Veterans Administration in the government loyalty purge. Kutcher was the Purple Heart veteran who lost both legs in battle in Italy and was fired from his clerk's job in 1948 solely because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Kutcher contends he was illegally discharged because of his political views and affiliation and because the party to which he belongs was placed on the Attorney - General's "subversive" blacklist without notice or hearing. When the SWP protested the arbitrary designation as "subversive" and demanded a hearing, its request was denied.

As **The Washington Post** pointed out editorially: "Mr. Kutcher is the victim of a dual arbitrariness. The organization to which he belongs has been arbitrarily held to advocate what it denies advocating. And the advocacy imputed to the organization has been arbitrarily imputed to Mr. Kutcher through the mere fact of his membership — an assumption of guilt through association which the Supreme Court in the Schneiderman case denounced as invalid and repugnant to American law. As a result, Mr. Kutcher has been severely punished not only by the loss of his job and a blacklisting which may close all other avenues of employment to him but also by an official finding that he is 'disloyal' to the country in whose service he was grievously wounded."

JAMES KUTCHER

A KEY TEST

The Kutcher case is nationally recognized as a key test of the violations of democratic rights

(Continued on Page 4)

This Is the Kind of Foreign Policy The American People Really Want

1. **Stop the war now. Don't let it spread!**
2. **Withdraw all American troops from Korea!**
3. **Recognize the government of New China!**
4. **Let the American people vote on the issue of war and peace in a national referendum!**

Truman Democrats, Douglas And Moody, Back Rent Steal; Labor Leaders Keep Silent

Congress is moving up its heavy legislative artillery for a two-pronged offensive on the American people's standard of living. Democratic and Republican legislators have joined forces at the nod of Big Business in moves to demolish price controls and rent ceilings and to invade wage-earners' incomes with the third income-tax boost since the start of the Korean war.

Truman's feeble and purely ritualistic appeal on June 14 for "strengthened" price and rent controls was promptly met in Congress with moves to eliminate scheduled price roll-backs on meat, clothing and a host of other commodities and to boost residential rents at least 20 percent. At the same time, the new tax bill is being pushed through the mill to raise withholding taxes another 12½ percent and to slap big sales (excise) taxes on hundreds of necessities.

HALT ROLL-BACKS

While the meat packers and big cattle ranchers were holding back beef supplies in an attempt to force the American consumers to bow to the profiteers' price demands, the House and Senate Banking and Currency Committees have approved measures prohibiting price roll-backs on beef which the price control administration had ordered to take effect on Aug. 1 and Oct. 1.

It is generally conceded that failure of the meat-prices controls ordered by the Administration will undermine the whole price control program. This will give a new impetus to an inflation that Economic Stabilization Agency administrator Eric Johnston said on June 19 has added $21 billion to consumers' living costs since January 1950. That's $21 billion that have gone into profits.

RENT HIKES

One of the biggest blows Congress is preparing to deal the workers is a 20 percent boost in rent ceilings — where such ceilings are still in effect. The Senate Banking committee, with a majority of Truman Democrats, approved this increase on June 15. Among those who voted to give this bonanza to the landlords and real estate corporations are Paul H. Douglas of Illinois and Blair Moody, newly appointed senator from Michigan.

These two senators are among the so-called "fair deal" Democrats, hailed by the top CIO officials as "friends of labor." The drastic rent boost was supported by a majority of the Democrats on the committee, while the Republicans opposed the rent hike on the grounds that it was 17% lower than it should have been.

Thus, the United Labor Policy Committee is given notice by the leading Congressmen and Senators that its demands for "equality of sacrifice" will be ignored, and the "big business" domination of government policy would go on unchecked.

WINDOW DRESSING

In exchange for promises from the Democrats that they would hold back inflation, the labor leaders agreed to call off their walkout from all government posts, and return to serve in mobilization agencies.

But these promises, like Truman's 1948 election platform, are being betrayed.

These actions in the House and Senate serve warning on organized labor: Congress cannot be depended upon to protect the workers' living standards. Labor officials who serve on government boards, merely provide window dressing for the administration plan to unload the costs of war preparations on the back of the workers.

Sky -- The Limit

Have you heard any talk, much less action, of freezing the salaries plus cash bonuses plus stock rake-offs of the big corporation executives? Chas. E. Wilson of GM heads these big shots with a total rake off last year of $626,300; the low man on the long list is William S. Palcy of CBS with a mere $100,000. Here are a few of the others:

Albert Bradley (GM) $541,000
C. H. Greenwalt (duPont) $539,550
M. E. Coyle (GM) $526,100
H. C. Curtice (GM) $526,100
J. C. Dellinger $468,278

Why Teen-agers Take to Dope

By Joseph Andrews

Between five and ten thousand teen-age youth are in the grip of the "white death" — dope addiction — in New York City. The wave of narcotic addition among youth has swept to Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, San Francisco, Washington and Baltimore, according to Harry J. Anslinger, U.S. Commissioner of Narcotics.

Nobody knows how many tens of thousands of American youth have already been destroyed by the opium, morphine and heroin habit.

THE REAL CRIMINAL

Who is to blame for this horrible epidemic? It is not the peddlers alone; it is not merely the lack of effective anti-narcotics police; it is not only the absence of hospital facilities for treatment of the tragic victims.

The decayed social system is the real criminal.

Professor Austin MacCormick of the University of California, stated recently that the mounting juvenile addiction rates were a sign of **"social disintegration — failure to keep up with the problems of urban life."** Youth, he stated, **found itself unable to develop ethical concepts in an atmosphere of poverty, alcoholism and racial prejudice, and sought escape in narcotics.**

Prof. McCormick omitted one of the greatest pressures upon the youth — militarism and war.

Congressman Howard H. Buffett, of Nebraska, stated May 2 **"In America a young man at 18 loses his freedom. His life is at the disposal of the Government in Washington. Aside from forced military service overseas, our borders become a prison wall. He cannot leave this country as a permanent emigrant — to seek his freedom elsewhere."**

CAPITALIST FUTURE

All that capitalism holds in store for the youth is war, poverty, dictatorship, atomic destruction; the adolescent who confronts his future sees only a blind alley.

The government, from Washington down to the local cop on the beat appears to the youth as an enemy — and he isn't wrong.

The schools seem institution for the spreading of hypocrisy: they teach about freedom, peace and democracy, but the world around them holds none of these ideals.

The business world to which the youth in the heydey of capitalism would normally aspire, offers little opportunity except to the sons of the rich; the scramble for profits, the cynical selfishness of the big corporations, revolts the teen-ager who enters adulthood hoping to live a decent, useful and meaningful life.

He has no chance to plan his future; he is already part of the arsenal of World War III, an instrument of the warlords, waiting to be picked up and tossed into the jaws of hell. Is it any wonder that the youth look for escape?

A TRAGIC SYMBOL

Is it any wonder that the following description of teen-age addicts, reported in the June Woman's Home Companion, is typical of tens of thousands of youth? — ". . . they were fine-looking clean-cut youngsters — until you looked at their arms. The tender skin below the elbow was scored with ugly dark purple streaks which followed the course of veins toward the wrist. These were the streaks of burned-out veins into which they had jabbed the needle so many times that the vascular walls themselves had collapsed and the veins had dried up. Some had kept frantically jabbing deeper, deeper, looking for new veins until they had made streaks all the way across the backs of their hands and down to the knuckles."

The dried-up veins of these youth — that is the symbol of capitalist society!

Only it is more than a symbol. It is horribly real. It is the greatest price the American people are paying for the continued domination of the outlived system of degenerated capitalism.

Notebook of an Agitator

WHAT GOES ON HERE?

Having nothing else to do one day last week, and being in need of diversion, I abstracted myself from reality and took an imaginative journey into the realm of fantasy. In a sort of a trance I played the part of a sucker who believes everything he hears from Washington about our cold war propaganda campaign for truth, as well as democracy, freedom and all that sort of thing. In the euphoria of delusion I was feeling as fine as any fool in love with his own ignorance and credulity until I started to read the testimony and cross-examination of Secretary of State Acheson before the Senate Committee. Then I suddenly woke up with a headache and a hang-over.

In my day dream I had been convinced — because I had been told — that our Seventh Fleet had occupied Formosa in order to defend it against any imperialistic aggression from the Chinese, who for some incomprehensible reason think the island belongs to them, and incidentally because its control is of decisive strategic importance to the defense of our homes and firesides. But the hearing brought out a previously secret document of the State Department, a policy guide sent out to 552 American representatives abroad — dated Dec. 23, 1949 — which stated the exact opposite. Referring to Formosa, this 1949 memo deprecated "the mistaken popular conception of its strategic importance to United States defense in the Pacific," and denied that the U.S. was "committed in any way to act to save Formosa."

Now, what goes on here? And which is which? Has our policy changed in its objectives, or has Formosa changed its location, or what? The answer, as it came out in the testimony of Acheson, is that nothing is new. Our policy is just what it was in 1949, and Formosa is still there in the same place. The two different and opposite statements of policy were meant to serve two different purposes. One was a directive to the Navy for action to carry out U.S. policy. The other was an instruction to 552 foreign representatives for their guidance in talking about it in public statements and radio broadcasts. Just listen to the testimony, reported in the **New York Times**, June 4:

Senator Knowland, questioning Acheson, said, "This paper (the 1949 memo) clearly enunciated the policy which we were following in regard to Formosa." No, explained Acheson, ". . . this paper is a direction to people making broadcasts how they should deal with these problems in the event that Formosa falls."

Then Senator Sparkman intervened with a question right to the point: "And this paper was issued primarily for the purpose of directing or giving direction to those of our people scattered all over the world who were in charge of what we might call propaganda?"

Acheson: "That is correct sir; yes."

Sparkman: "And was limited to that?"

Acheson: "That was the sole purpose."

Sparkman: "And at the very time that was issued, we were actually supplying arms aid to the Nationalists on Formosa?"

Acheson: "Arms aid, yes, sir."

So! We now have it down in black and white in the sworn testimony of the Secretary of State that the United States Government was doing one thing in Formosa all the time and secretly instructing its representatives to say the opposite. Did you ever hear such two-faced hypocrites and brazen liars in all your life? For my part, I'll never believe another word they say even in my sleep.

There are two odd footnotes to this story. The Associated Press reports that Moscow propagandists, who can lie on their own account faster than Count Turf can run, have cited Acheson's testimony as proof that the U.S. Government is "playing a 'dirty game' in Asia" and "'pursuing a false and dishonest policy' toward Formosa, Communist China, and also in Korea." This time even the Moscow liars told the truth.

And the Social Democrats, those unofficial agents of the State Department, who in their own right rank in the order of liars as habituals, first class, also took the occasion to experiment with an honest statement of facts by remarking in the **New Leader** under the by-line of Washington correspondent Robert Dean:

"The Secretary of State had elaborated a necessary distinction between policy and propaganda, but had also put on the record the obvious fact that the U.S. was, at times, doing one thing and saying another — as all countries do. We were minimizing the strategic necessity of Formosa, and denying that we were holding it up, to guard against the possibility of the island's falling, at the same time that we were, in fact, sending arms."

The moralistic **New Leader** reports these unadorned facts with neither sorrow nor anger. "The U.S.," as it says, "was, at times, doing one thing and saying another." But that's O.K. with the **New Leader**. Why make a fuss about it? After all, we are only doing what "all other countries do." Can you think of any better reason for double-dealing? Hold steady, boys. We'll lie our way to peace and freedom yet.

— J. P. C.

Unprovoked U.S. Aggression in Korea

Most of us recall the fateful week of June 25, 1950, as a blur of events moving at dizzying speed. Within a few hours of the report that North Korean troops had crossed the South Korean border, Truman had dispatched U.S. planes and warships. The U.S. State Department rounded up sleepy-eyed members of the UN Security Council after midnight and stampeded them into an immediate statement branding North Korea an "aggressor." Before the week was out, U.S. troops were dying in Korea.

The American people were given no time to study the events or voice an opinion. They were overwhelmed by accomplished facts and a propaganda blitzkrieg. They were deluged with the continuous din about an "unprovoked aggression" by the North Koreans.

A DELIBERATE LIE

Marxists, of course, do not determine the progressive or reactionary character of a war on the basis of who fired the first shot. We judge wars by the classes who conduct them and the class aims they serve. But even if the question of who shot first were decisive, it can be shown that the chief pretext for U.S. intervention — the charge of "unprovoked aggression" by the North Koreans — is a deliberate fabrication.

A growing body of information — concealed during the first quick stampede into the Korean war — reveals that this war climaxed numerous provocations by the U.S.-sponsored Syngman Rhee regime of South Korea during a civil war that had been raging for two years.

The Militant has already uncovered and published much evidence about these provocations and the civil war. Now we have additional evidence in the recently-issued book, "Red Storm Over Asia," by the British author Robert Payne, a long-time resident of China. He is a bitter opponent of the North Korean and new China regimes and a supporter of the U.S.-UN intervention.

Payne points out, first of all, that Korea was divided by a secret deal between the western imperialists and the Kremlin at the Yalta conference "without any of the leaders of the great powers consulting any Korean official, or any Korean at all."

Although he accuses the North Koreans of a "wanton act of aggression," Payne concedes that **"until June 25, 1950, there was a case for the North Korean government . . . that should be examined with great care." He admits that the North Korean regime had completed "sweeping" land reforms, dividing 2,500,000 acres among the poor peasants; set industry "on its feet"; granted equality to women; built schools; cancelled debts of the poor; etc. But the U.S.-controlled government of Syngman Rhee, "who had spent forty years in America and who had been given the presidency of South Korea in the most dubious way," was "dominated by landlords" and "seems to have done everything in its power to maintain the landlords' feudal privileges."**

The American Military Government, Payne states, "bowed to the landlords . . . allowed the secret police full powers . . . frowned on the Socialists who continually demanded wider land reforms . . . tolerated the inflation, the black market, and the consumer-goods shortages; and **they were apparently incapable of preventing the ministers of the South Korean Government from repeatedly threatening to invade North Korea . . . and it is at least permissible to believe that he (Rhee) regarded the invasion (by North Korea) as an act of Providence designed to allow him to perpetuate his power, for he was assured of American help, or at least he could regard American help as exceedingly likely."**

The Rhee government, Payne says, "had aroused the hatred and sullen resentment of the majority of the people; unfortunately it was this government which America was sworn to defend." He gives details of the civil war waged between the South Korean peasants and workers, as well as North Koreans, and the Rhee capitalist-landlord regime. Payne also tells of the "border incidents" and guerrilla fighting "by both sides" which, according to a United Nations report, resulted in the killing of some 13,000 people during the two years preceding the outbreak of full-scale war.

On Nov. 1, 1949, Sung Mo, Rhee's defense minister, deplored the view that South Korea was not ready for war on North Korea and said: "If we had our way we would, I'm sure, have started up already. . . We are strong enough to march up and take Pyongyang (North Korean capital) within a few days."

RHEE'S THREATS

Rhee himself, as quoted in the March 2, 1950 **N. Y. Times**, proclaimed that despite contrary advice by "friends from across the seas" not to attack the "foreign puppets" in North Korea, "we shall respond" to the cries of "our brothers in distress" in the north. That same month Rhee imprisoned 13 members of the National Assembly of South Korea who protested against his threats to invade North Korea. But on May 31, 1950 Rhee's supporters were defeated disastrously in the elections to the National Assembly.

The North Korean government then proposed an all-Korea election to set up an all-Korean Legislature to unify the country. According to the UN Commission Report, three official envoys of the North Korean government crossed the border on June 10, 1950, to present these unification proposals to the South Korean government. They were promptly arrested and have never been seen again. This, says Payne, was a "provocation of some substance," although not so bad as the attacks by Syngman Rhee's "own groups of guerrilla forces in the North" for two years.

A CIVIL WAR

Who fired the first shot in Korea? No one knows — least of all the imperialists who play on every key the theme of "unprovoked" and "wanton" aggression by the North Koreans on June 25, 1950. The first shot was fired years before in a civil war between poor and rich in Korea.

When U.S. troops were landed on the shores of Korea, there "came no new social philosophy, no quickening revolutionary fervor, no hint that the responsibility of America lay in other directions besides armed forces," bemoans Payne. "The land regained from the North Koreans was not distributed to the peasants, while the landlords were even assured that their rights of tenure remained. Also, the American military command tacitly assented to the brutality of the South Korean police and the South Korean marines." He concludes sadly that "whenever the democracies find themselves fighting in such a way that civilians are murdered simply to get them out of the way, then it is perfectly clear that a tragedy of incalculable proportions is taking place. . ."

That tragedy is, above all, the slaughter of millions of Koreans, the destruction of their whole country, by a brutal imperialist invasion carried out under the lying pretext of defending these same Koreans from an "unprovoked aggression."

That tragedy is also the sacrifice of the lives and limbs of scores of thousands of American boys who have been sent to uphold the Syngman Rhee regime which Payne describes as one of "that strange group of corrupt governments which have appeared in the East . . . which seem to have nothing in common with the people they rule . . . a small group of men who have never in any real sense been elected by the people, rich mercenaries of power . . . comprador governments (which) would never have come to power without foreign interference. . ."

IMPERIALISM DEALT HEAVY BLOW AS IRAN TAKES OVER OIL INDUSTRY

By John G. Wright

The Iranian crisis reached a breaking point on June 20 when the Mossadegh government ordered the seizure of all properties of the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. in conformance with the nationalization law passed in March. This action followed the complete collapse of the negotiations with the British delegation headed by Basil R. Jackson, deputy chairman of the British oil trust.

From all indications the British imperialists have been caught by surprise both by the collapse of the negotiations and Mossadegh's order to take over the oil industry.

They had arrogantly hoped to dictate a "compromise" whereby the nationalization decree would remain nothing more than a facade for the perpetuation of the British monopoly of the oil fields and refineries. They expected to achieve this by means of slightly higher royalties to the Iranian government and through the pressure of the U.S. State Department and its representative on the scene, Ambassador Grady. How grossly they have miscalculated has been demonstrated by the firm rejection of the British offer as "completely unacceptable" and Mossadegh's sweeping order to take over the oil industry.

But the British imperialists, with the backing of Washington, are still hopeful of dictating their terms. The American capitalist press has sprung to the defense of their British colleagues. The **N. Y. Herald-Tribune** editorially denounced the Iranian action as "remorseless," and a product of "violent nationalism," and called upon the Truman administration to maintain "the common front presented by the United States and Britain."

An even sharper tone was taken by the **N. Y. Times** which advocated the same course and attacked the Iranian government's conduct as "the height of folly."

U.S. BACK BRITISH

The position of the administration was expressed by Ambassador Grady who declared that the U.S. was "100% behind" the British stand and found the British proposals "completely fair and acceptable under the scope of the nationalization law."

The British began the 80-minute "negotiations" on June 19 by demanding that the Iranian government have no say whatever concerning the operations of the oil industry. The offer to pay larger royalties was accompanied by the following clause: "on the understanding that the (Iranian) government undertakes not to interfere with the company's operations while discussions are proceeding."

The name of the company would be changed to the "Persian National Oil Co." — a verbal compliance with the nationalization law — and this company "would grant the use of assets to a new company to be established by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. Ltd." This "new company" would then "operate in behalf of the Persian National Oil Company."

A SWINDLE

In other words, exactly nothing would be changed, except the firm labels under which the British imperialists would operate. As window-dressing these cynical swindlers further offered to include "a number of Persian directors" on the board of "the new company."

What this "completely fair and acceptable offer' boils down to is a sop of several million dollars plus a "compliance" — on paper — with the "principle of nationalization." And when this brazen offer was rejected by the Iranians, the head of the British delegation is reported to have stalked "angrily" out of the conference room and declared to the reporters that the Iranian proposals were "too ridiculous for serious discussion."

What the Iranians propose is that the British abide by the terms of their nationalization law. This law, which is if anything too generous to the imperialists, assures them of the same supplies of oil as they have been obtaining before, at prevailing world prices, and gives them priority of any surplus production on the same terms. It further sets apart one-fourth of the total net proceeds each year as recompense for any legitimate company claims.

The action of the Mossadegh government deals a blow to both British and American imperialism. "There can be no masking the fact," admit the **Herald-Tribune** editors, "that a setback for the Western cause has been sustained in Iran. . ."

The American imperialists are still counting on their pressure to bring the Iranians to heel. What are the British counting on? It is doubtful that they themselves know. "Obviously," reported Homer Bigart on June 19, correspondent of the **Herald-Tribune**, "the British are counting on the fall of the Mossadegh government and think rejection of the Iranian demands will arouse the moderates in Parliament against the Premier."

The next day Bigart cabled that Mossadegh "will probably get an overwhelming favorable vote" when he comes before the Iranian Parliament for an endorsement of his policy.

Foreign Secretary Morrison has again issued veiled threats of military intervention and there is talk in London of imposing "economic sanctions" on Iran.

The firm stand of the Mossadegh government demonstrates that the sweep of the anti-imperialist movement among the Iranian masses has assumed proportions that cannot be curbed or withstood by any native regime. Every attempt by the imperialists to perpetuate their rule is bound to run up, as it already has, against ever mounting resistance.

Which Way for the Youth of America?

By Joseph Hansen

While I was on tour recently, I missed hearing James P. Cannon speak on "American Youth and Foreign Policy" at a New York University student gathering. I regretted this as I find I always learn something worthwhile from his speeches; and both the audience and the subject matter promised to be of unusual interest. Who is more directly concerned with foreign policy than the youth awaiting orders from the draft board?

Besides, I enjoy hearing America's leading expounder of socialism. I think even his bitterest opponents will concede that James P. Cannon is one of the best speakers the American labor movement has turned out in a long while.

However, a recording was made of the speech, and the full text is published in the May-June issue of **Fourth International**, theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism. The written text of a speech is never as good as the living words, at least the way I look at it. But when a speaker has something important and vital to say, a lot of it carries over even in the cold print. That's true of this speech.

HOOK BACKS OUT

You can see that it was prepared in anticipation of debating Professor Sidney Hook on American foreign policy. However, Hook refused to accept the challenge although he devotes a lot of extra-curricular time to making scholarly arguments in favor of the war preparations of American imperialism, and you'd think he would snap at the chance of putting on the gloves with someone who takes a decidedly different view.

No doubt the champion of the State Department thought twice about Cannon's 40-year record as an advocate of socialism and opponent of imperialist war, reminded himself of Cannon's formidable reputation in the radical movement as a debater, and decided it was more dignified to look tongue-tied and even a coward than be cut to ribbons before his own students.

The sponsors of the debate decided to hear James P. Cannon anyway. If they were disappointed in not getting the rough-and-tumble clash they had expected, Cannon's speech I am sure made up for it, at least in part, as the National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party went after Sidney Hook without paying much attention to the professor's conspicuous absence.

He took some of the pro-war views subscribed to by Hook and ran them through the grinder. They ended up looking pretty much like Pillsbury's best flour, which is extra fine according to the advertisement.

LENIN'S IMPERIALISM

For example, Hook contends along with Lewis Corey, James T. Farrell, Upton Sinclair and Norman Thomas, that American capitalism is not imperialistic and that its development "does not fulfill Lenin's theory of imperialism as the inevitable last stage of capitalism."

Cannon used one of the leading spokesmen of American imperialism, Governor Thomas E. Dewey, to prove that Wall Street takes a more realistic view. Then he cited a series of unanswerable economic facts to show how Lenin's theories are being borne out before our eyes here in the USA.

The whole march of American capitalism toward another world war, this time an atomic war, is a consequence of the imperialist development of American capitalism, Gannon explained. Many of the students found this highly illuminating, I am told, as Cannon went into the economic reasons for the war drive in some detail.

Hook of course, since he wasn't present, couldn't answer Cannon's estimate that American imperialism will find it impossible to impose its way of life on the world. But I doubt that the professor has much confidence at bottom in the prospects of the capitalist order and perhaps that's another reason why he didn't show up. Low morale. **After all, what answer could he have given when Cannon said, "So I wouldn't advise young people to bet their heads on the victory of American imperialism."**

Cannon concluded by telling his youthful audience that there is an alternative to the gloomy perspective facing us if the capitalists continue to run the country: "In my opinion this alternative is to recognize the social reality of our time, to see capitalism as a world system in its death agony, completely reactionary, and beyond salvation by any means. The alternative to support of this doomed social system is to ally oneself with the future; with the socialist and labor movement, and with the great colonial revolutions in process and still growing. The alternative is to work for a union of the world's workers and the colonial peoples, to put an end to imperialism and open the way for the socialist society of the free and equal. That is the way to secure peace and progress and a good life for all.

"Friends, I recommend this alternative program to you. It is better. For it offers you something worth fighting for, with the prospect of victory at the end, a victory for all humanity in which you and your generation will share."

I think you'll enjoy reading the whole speech and will agree that it's very instructive. You can get a copy by sending 25 cents to **Fourth International** and asking for the May-June issue. The address is 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

BRITISH MARXISTS CALL ON LABOR TO SUPPORT THE IRANIAN PEOPLE

In a leading editorial in the June issue of their periodical the **Socialist Outlook**, the British Left Socialists, the radical wing of the Labor Party, have called upon the British workers to repudiate the Attlee regime's "gunboat diplomacy" toward Iran and to support the Iranian people in the present crisis.

"Persia (Iran) is a land of extremes of wealth and poverty," states the **Socialist Outlook**. "All the poverty belongs to the workers and poor farmers — most of the wealth (oil) belongs to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. whose biggest shareholder is the British government. The decision of the Persian government to nationalize these fabulously rich oil fields has, quite naturally, the enthusiastic support of the great majority of the Persian people."

SOVEREIGN RIGHT

"It is a decision," continues this editorial, "which should also have the support of every democrat — leave alone every socialist — throughout the world. For the Persians — like the British or any other people — have a sovereign right to dispose of their national wealth in any way that they, **and they alone**, see fit. Anybody who denies them that right becomes a defender of the 'right' of great and powerful nations to dictate to small and weaker nations — becomes, in fact, a defender of the imperialist system."

Denouncing the "legalistic" arguments and the military threats of the Attlee government, the **Socialist Outlook** goes on to point out:

"The fact that the signature of the Persian government is to be found on the (1933) Oil Agreement, alters nothing at all — because the Persian PEOPLE, the workers and the farmers, **never did agree to this robbery.** They weren't even consulted. The agreement was signed by a reactionary clique of feudalists whose leader is the Shah and — so strong was the opposition of the people — they needed the protection of British guns before daring to sign away their country's wealth to foreign capitalists."

AT GUN POINT

Foreign Minister Morrison and his colleagues are now seeking the same type of "negotiations" at the point of guns. "To understand how the Persians feel about this sort of 'legal' and 'democratic' negotiations, just imagine our own feelings had the American government sent over a couple of armored divisions to 'negotiate' terms favorable to the coal-owners when the Labor Government decided to nationalize the mines. The fact is — as at least every socialist should know, all these lawyers' arguments are merely the legal cover which hides naked imperialist interests."

The issue is not limited to Iran. The developments there are part of world-shaking upsurge among the colonial peoples. "And against these imperialist interests, against this unwarranted interference in the affairs of small and subject nations, **more than half the world is now in open revolt,**" explains the **Socialist Outlook**.

GENERAL CRISIS

"In this respect the Persian crisis is yet another aspect of the general crisis which now exists in the relations between the rich exploiting nations like America, Britain, Holland and France and the nations they have for so long exploited. The peoples of India, Burma, Indo-China, Malaya, China, Korea, and now Persia, will no longer tolerate 'agreements' which have been IMPOSED upon them and which provide for the legal plundering of their countries by a handful of foreign capitalists. It is the ordinary people who are rising against the imperialist system. It is they — and especially the workers — who are pressing their governments to fight for national freedom and independence."

This progressive struggle for national liberation tends to coalesce with the struggle for socialism. Beginning as anti-imperialist, these movements inexorably gravitate into anti-capitalist and pro-socialist channels. The imperialists and the native reactionaries have every reason to fear this: "But the labor movement has no need to fear it." Labor has everything to gain by supporting it.

"By allying ourselves with the Persian people — and with all other peoples fighting for national independence — we shall prove in practice that the British workers harbor no imperialist designs against anybody. Then will the workers of the colonial countries link hands with us in the common fight for socialism. Nationalism will give way to internationalism and the basis will be laid for the creation of the socialist community of nations — all equal and all sharing in the world's unbounded store of good and useful things."

This genuine socialist viewpoint concludes with the demand: HANDS OFF PERSIA!

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THE MILITANT ARMY

That July 1 deadline is only a few days off! That means every spare hour between now and then counts as at no time in the campaign. The seasoned campaigners know this and that's why, instead of lagging, they are now spurting ahead as if each one had tapped fresh reserves.

Paul of the **Twin Cities**, for example, last week rolled up 495 points, bringing his grand total to 3,595 points. That's subgetting!

Ernie D. of **Detroit** came close to Paul with 410 points. And **Don** of **Buffalo** got 256; **Belle** of **Boston** 225; **John** of **Los Angeles** 211; and **Mary** of **Chicago** 193.

The secret of those scores is work — time, work, and more time and work. These comrades of course have the skill to begin with, but much more important, they have a genuine appreciation of the political importance of widening the circulation of America's leading socialist weekly.

The **New York Local** this week moved in full force. They got a good reception as their score indicates. The welcome they received heartened everyone. However, more decisive than the welcome was their own determination to wind up the Big League Militant Circulation and Sales Campaign in the spirit that characterizes a true socialist. That is to not only start the job right; but to finish it right.

The same feeling of enthusiasm and determination to end the campaign with an energetic push is apparent in most of the other branches. The **St. Paul** contingent ordered the extra copies "we'll need for that last spurt the first of July."

And Literature Agent **Winifred Nelson** mentioned one of the main ingredients in the Twin Cities' success thus far: **"The Militant** each week is better than the one the week before. It has an appeal to workers that is appreciated by the comrades who are out selling. And that is because **The Militant** is truly a workers' paper as no other paper in the U.S. is today!"

Literature Agent **Bea Allen** of **Detroit** likewise reports, "The enthusiasm was really good last week and I hope we can keep it that way for the rest of the campaign."

Buffalo too, according to Literature Agent **Charles Carlson**, intends to finish among the leaders. "If we don't, the reason is not because we didn't try. The comrades are doing a marvelous job in their tireless efforts to sell **The Militant** to working people."

And the **Akron** comrades are moving with all energy in hopes of making the last part of the campaign count enough to put them in top place in the Kujac League.

These excerpts from our mail this week are sufficient, we think, to indicate a finish is in store for this campaign even more successful than its beginning.

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The Power of the Asian Peoples

One fact of the Korean war overshadows all others: Armies of backward Asian peasants have withstood the military might of world imperialism for a solid year. This is a world-shaking development that no explanation of imperialist statesmen and militarists can minimize.

The peoples of Korea and China are just emerging from a century of imperialist domination and exploitation. They have scarcely been touched by the industrial age. Their productivity is less than five per cent of that of the United States. The average individual income in China is $23 a year — in America more than $1,700.

By all previous standards and experiences, the U.S. forces with their tremendous superiority of fire-power — tanks, artillery, bombers — should have smashed the North Korean and Chinese armies within a few weeks or months. Instead, for most of a year of savage warfare, the forces of imperialism have been on the defensive and twice have stood on the brink of complete defeat.

What is the reason for the astounding resistance and fighting powers of the Chinese-North Korean forces?

The claim that these armies "overwhelmingly outnumber" the U.S.-UN-South Korean forces is strictly phony. Robert S. Allen, **N. Y. Post** columnist, revealed on June 14 that the imperialist armies number 585,000, including 285,000 U.S. troops, 250,000 South Koreans and 50,000 British and others; the combned Chinese-North Korean forces number 610,000 maximum. **U.S. News and World Report** of June 22 places the total of U.S. forces in Korea — ground, air and naval — at 675,000.

The "secret" of the amazing military struggle put up by Asian peasant armies can be reduced to two words — revolutionary fervor. They are waging a revolutionary war. They are imbued by great revolutionary aims — freedom from foreign domination, national independence, land reform, nationalization of industries. That is why they can sustain terrible losses and still fight on.

On the other hand, we have heard continuously of the low morale of the U.S. troops, their constant questions, "Why are we here? What are we fighting for?" If the troops of imperialism were not backed by the most devastating array of war weapons ever mobilized, they would not be able to stand up for a week against the Chinese-North Korean revolutionary armies.

The imperialists may pile such terrific fire-power into Korea that they will conquer that one small peninsula. But they will not conquer the Asian revolution. This revolution is so vast and deep and powerful that in the end imperialism must shatter itself against it.

U.S. Plans for Germany

In recent years, more than 3¼ billion dollars have been poured into Germany from the coffers of American imperialism. Everyone knows what this money is for. Every nickel of it is calculated to build a part of the vast international war machine of the Wall St. plutocracy.

The German workers know that these billions threaten to transform the German nation into a gigantic cemetery of the people. The American workers know that these billions, like the billions that are being spent in the ghastly Korean war, are being taken from their paychecks. Millions of young American workers, moreover, are earmarked for export along with these dollars to be "expended" on the battlefields of Europe and Asia.

And everyone knows that when capitalists invest money, they fix it so that the same amount of money comes back to them plus a little offspring called profit. The American imperialists, who not so long ago were clamoring for the "punishment" of the German people by de-industrializing them, are not trying to reconstruct Germany for charitable reasons. They count every nickel of it as a major investment. And the business they are investing in is bloody imperialist war.

The question is, will this money get the results the imperialists hope?

Here there is a lot of room for doubt. We don't mean our doubts — because we are dead sure that their investment will come to grief. We mean doubts in the capitalist ruling class itself. During their "great debate" some influential capitalists have argued that the billions to Germany will go down the same rat-hole as the billions to Chiang Kai-shek. They've got something there.

American imperialism has sought to reconstruct not only the war economy of Germany, but the old fascist-militarist ruling class as well. But fascist capitalists and generals don't work the factories, railroads and mines. As Wall St. reconstructs the German military plant, it also reconstructs a powerful German working class.

The German workers have shown numerous signs of regaining their pre-Hitler status as the most powerful sector of the European working class. The Berlin transport strike of 1948; the emergence of a powerful German labor movement in the mining and steel industries; the open hatred and opposition the German workers show for the designs of the "generous" American imperialists; all this points to the fact that the dollar imperialists will have to reckon with the dynamic power of a reconstituted and unified German labor movement.

All the billions the American imperialists can muster will not change this fact — the last word on the "German question," one of the items on the agenda of the "great debate," will be spoken by the German workers themselves.

German Labor Still Fighting For Equal Say

By Charles Hanley

From our European comrades we have received **supplementary information** on the issue of co-determination in West Germany. They write us that the principle of co-determination (workers' voice in management) had already been accepted by a conference of union and management representatives in Maria-Leach one year ago. But the question was now to carry it out in practice: The employers did not agree to an equal number of labor and management delegates in the new management councils of steel mills and coal mines.

Therefore a general strike was prepared by the German Trade Union Federation. More than 95 percent of the membership voted for this strike, as the slogan of co-determination had acquired tremendous popularity.

Chancellor Adenauer's last-minute offer (in January, 1951) granted equal representation to labor and management, at least theoretically, but introduced an **eleventh man** into the new managment councils: an "impartial" member who will indirectly represent the government in many cases. The union leaders agreed to this, although it means that only five out of eleven members of the councils will be labor delegates. The workers resented their leaders' yielding disposition: The labor bureaucrats had been scared by the strike threat as much as the capitalists, prefering a suspicious compromise to the dreaded perspective of a general strike.

There are other negative sides to the law on co-determination passed by the West German Bundestag (Federal Parliament). Labor delegates in the management councils have to keep secret all the inside information they get. They are obliged to act "in the interest of the firm's prosperity." They are not controlled by the workers themselves; there exists no workers' assembly to which they are responsible. Thus the capitalists can try to corrupt labor delegates in the mixed councils.

Yet it would be foolish to reject co-determination as the Stalinists and ultra-leftist sectarians do. The workers instinctively feel that co-determination is a big conquest — if it is used in their own interest. But whether or not it is to be used according to labor's interest (instead of eventually being a handicap to its class struggle against capitalism) depends on the development of a revolutionary left wing in the German unions, not on the actual text of the law. Co-determination will be what the workers make it.

In order to make it a step toward genuine workers' control, leftist union militants will have to explain to their fellow workers how co-determination could be used in a revolutionary way. It is necessary to wage a struggle against maintaining commercial secrets (which the labor delegates still have to respect under the present law) and for control by workers' organizations over their representatives' activity in the management councils.

The Stalinist Peace Program — II

Jingoes Into Pacifists

By James P. Cannon

If your ears are still ringing from the boiler factory sound effects of the war shouts and screeches of the American Stalinists, which topped all others on the patriotic noise meter in World War II; if you don't hear so good anymore and can't pick up and distinguish new sounds as readily as you could before your ears got hurt — let me tip you off to something. That noise you hear, or think you hear, is not what it used to be. The Stalinists have changed their slogan. They are not hollering for war anymore. Now they want peace. In fact, they demand it.

I know what I am talking about, for I have investigated the matter and am in a position to report not only that (1) the Stalinists now want peace, but also (2) why they want it and (3) how they say it can be had. I have at hand for use as source material the 252-page report of the proceedings of the "15th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A."; plus the 80-page pamphlet containing the convention report of a character by the name of Gus Hall, who is advertised as National Secretary; also numerous collateral documents. They are all written with deadening uniformity in that graceless style which makes all Stalinist writing read the same, but I give you my word, I have read them all.

If you are incredulous and disposed to say, "he's pulling our leg, he wouldn't really plow through that dreary stuff" — let me explain. The job of checking up on the Stalinist Peace Campaign and filing a report was handed to me by the editorial board. I am a soldier of the revolution and I shirk no task assigned to me, however onerous and distateful it may be. The peace propaganda of the Stalinists has been running on for a long time now, and most people with good hearing have heard about it. But the printed official documents mentioned above sort of sum up and codify the aims, motivations and arguments of the whole campaign, and thus can serve best for reference. That's why I read them.

Peace is only one of the things the people of this world need, and the one they are least likely to get first, for peace means the status quo and that has to be changed. But the Stalinists, who always have an ax of their own to grind, now push all other questions aside and reduce everything to the one formula of peace, as previously they ruled out all other considerations and subordinated everything to the war. The interests of the exploited workers in the imperialist metropolises and the heaving masses in the colonial world; the burning issues which can be resolved only by struggle — they all get lost in the shuffle in either case, as far as Stalinist designs are concerned.

Thus, in a prefatory note to his pamphlet, Gus Hall is introduced as "an outstanding champion of peace and democracy." That's all; nothing is said about Hall "championing" anything else. The prairie patriots and New York social-democrats can come out from under their beds; there is no immediate threat of revolution here. Hall's speech is recommended as "a challenge and a rallying call to all who earnestly want peace, regardless of all other differences of political opinion or outlook." That is the keynote of the National Secretary, setting the line of the 15th Convention from beginning to end, as we shall see. Everything but peace, the wonder-working cure-all, is left out — including the class struggle and its unavoidable culmination in revolution, which is not always and not necessarily the concomitant of peace.

Getting into his speech, Hall lays down the line that "the struggle for peace in general" is "the central task of our Party." And that, according to Hall, doesn't mean stepping up the class struggle of the workers against the capitalists, and raising their militancy and class consciousness. It does not include any instruction in the Leninist doctrine that the struggle against war is not and cannot be a special task; that the only effective way to prepare the struggle against war is to carry on the struggle against capitalism in times of peace. Nothing of the sort. It means, says Hall, "working for a single major peace center," uniting "all groups" who want peace and nothing else.

He cites as the model the recent Warsaw Peace Conference of professional fellow travelers, congenital stooges and moon-struck clergymen steered, like all such gatherings, by hard-faced jockeys from the Stalinist riding stables. This Warsaw Conference, he says, "characterized itself as a peace movement — period. It has rejected all attempts to put on it the stamp of a pro-communist movement, an anti-fascist movement, an anti-imperialist movement — or a class-against-class movement." There you have it. If you are looking for "Workers of the World Unite," a slogan which is 100 years old but still good, you have wandered into the wrong convention by mistake. Hall's report has nothing to say about that. This bird flutters only for peace — period, and no question marks. And just so there may be no misunderstanding whatever, this projected "peace center," says Hall, is to include "sections of the capitalist class."

NATIONAL PEACE MOVEMENT

The campaign for "peace in general" is to lead up to electoral activities. Through the medium of an independent labor party perhaps? Just hold your horses. Hall calls for **"peace tickets and peace candidates"** on a local scale, "which can become an important medium for new realignments in our country's political life" and culminate in **"a national peace ticket for the 1952 elections"** in which **"sections of the capitalist class"** will be invited to participate. Wallace and Taylor got away from them, but they are already on the prowl for replacements of the same kidney for 1952.

All this pacifistic horseplay is expected to put sufficient pressure on the ruling circles of the United States to convince them that peace is a good thing and that they can get along with the Soviet Union if they only want to. Let us have peace, they all say, peace is possible; all that's necessary is to want it and ask for it. Foster, who writes a letter to the Convention, lays down the line which is repeated like a ritual by all the reporters: "We do not consider war to be inevitable. . . We are also firmly convinced of the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of capitalism and Socialism in the world."

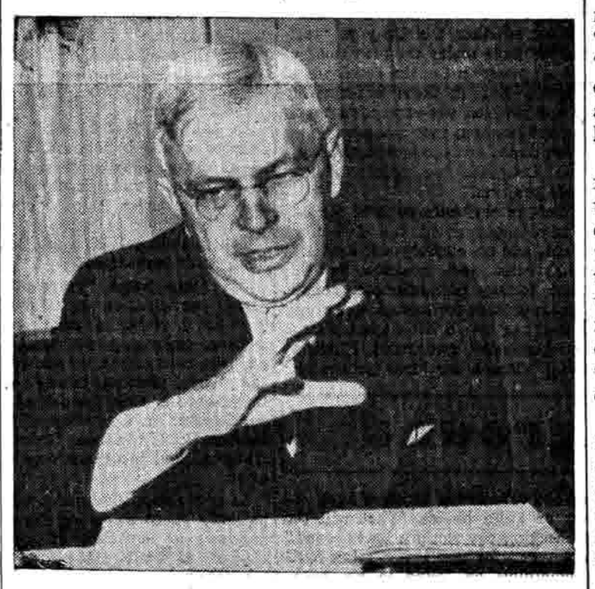
Claudia Jones, reporting on "Women in the Cause of Peace," chimes in with a denunciation of "the false idea of the inevitability of war." And Betty Gannett, reporting on "Some Ideological Tasks in the Struggle for Peace," warns all and sundry that all the work on this front "is determined by the central political task of the day — the struggles for peace." All the other Convention reporters said the same.

From these salient quotations from the official documents of the 15th National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States, it is clearly established that the American Stalinists are in favor of peace between this country and the Soviet Union. And they claim they know how to get it. Every time they say "peace" — and that is every time they open their mouths — they repeat the magic formula. The six slogans for practical action, outlined by Hall in his report, lead up to the final and decisive one — the demand for "negotiation and agreement with the Soviet Union to maintain peace." That's what they want. That's what all the tumult and the shouting is for.

In plainer words, this is Stalin talking to Washington through his American stooges and saying in effect: "Let's get together and make a deal." There is no doubt whatever that Stalin is willing to make such a deal with the imperialists and to pay a price for it. It should not be forgotten that they had a deal once before. A new one on a temporary basis is by no means excluded: That's what the projected meeting of the Big Four is about. Just what a possible new deal between Stalin and the imperialists would look like can be discovered in advance from an examination of basic Stalinist policy and a review of the way the old deal worked out in practice. That is the next point on our agenda.

(Next Week: What Stalin Offers)

Rich and Getting Richer



Charles E. Wilson, Pres. of General Motors, is doing all right for himself. Truman's "Equality of Sacrifice" program did not prevent him from raking in an income of $626,300 in 1950, largest salary for any U.S. executive.

From Zionism to Marxism -- the Life of A. Leon

By Charles Hanley

("The Jewish Question, a Marxist Interpretation" by A. Leon, Introduction by E. Germain, Ediciones Pioneras, Mexico, D.F., 1950, 232 pp., $1.00.)

When A. Leon's book on the Jewish question was first published in France after World War II, socialist critics praised it as a masterpiece: "One of the most beautiful examples of history explained with the aid of historical materialism," (Reportoire de la Documentation Politique, Economique et Sociale.) ". . . immense contribution toward scientific clarification. . ." (Theo Bernard in Revue Internationale.)

Before dealing with this work itself, a work which has aroused so much enthusiasm, I should like to say a few words about the author.

BORN IN POLAND

Leon was born in Warsaw, Poland, at the end of World War I, in a period of revolutionary upsurges. Yet his father was attracted much more to Zionism than by the Polish revolutionary movement.

In Leon's early boyhood, the family emigrated to Palestine, but went back to Poland after one year. In 1926 the family again left Poland — this time for Belgium. In Belgium their material conditions were satisfactory, Leon's father being a very active businesman, while his mother, a Rabbi's daughter, inclined much more toward literature, writing poetry and corresponding with authorities on the subject.

Young Leon became a militant in the "Hashomer Hatzair," the organization of young left wing Zionists adhering to Marxism, but trying to combine its internationalism with their Zionist feelings. They said that only in Palestine could the Jewish workers participate effectively in the world-wide revolutionary struggle.

LEARNED MARXISM

Despite its errors, Hashomer gave to its members a fine Marxist education. The teachings of Marx, and the socialist comradeship in the movement greatly helped develop Leon's personality. He moved up to an important position in the Hashomer, elected to the leadership of its Brussels section, and a member of the national committee because of his outstanding intelligence and his strength of character. Leon was indeed born to be a leader.

For one year he served as chairman of the Belgian Zionist Youth Federation. But obliged to cooperate with the representatives of petty bourgeois and bourgeois Zionist organizations, he began to doubt. Did the theory of compatibility between Marxist Internationalism and Zionist nationalism (Borochovism—a theory formulated by Ber Borochov) hold good?

MEETS TROTSKYIST

Compelled to be on the move all over Belgium for his father's business when his family's living conditions were temporarily threatened with deterioration, Leon attended the meetings of Walter Dauge, the young Trotskyist leader whose popularity among the miners of the Borinage region rose very high during the big strikes of 1936. Studying the ideas of Trotskyism, he sided with it against Stalinism, defending revolutionary marxism against the pro-Stalinist tendencies which were rather widespread in the Hashomer. This marxist education had been further deepened by courses at the Socialist "Labor University" of Brussels. ("Institut Vandervelde.")

Leon had engaged in thorough research work on Jewish history. He forwarded several articles on the question to the Belgian Trotskyist weekly "La Lutte Ouvriere" whose editors then established contact with him. Thus he discovered the vanguard of the proletarian movement.

WAR APPROACHES

When war approached in 1930, Leon intervened at the Hashomer world congress, coming out for "revolutionary defeatism" against conditional support of British Imperialism, despite angry shouts of the centrist assembly.

In 1940 Leon completed his "Theses on The Jewish Question" (of which his book constitutes the amplified elaboration) and submitted them for discussion to the Hashomer. The theses were a break with Zionism, a condemnation of Leon's own political past.

This parting with Hashomer became inevitable. He left that organization with about a score of comrades.

A real leader cannot be an opportunist. Leon's strength of character prevented him from being discouraged by momentary successes of labor's enemies. He followed the road he had found to be the right one — rain or shine. Doing the right thing, even when the entire world seems to be wrong or mad, when cowardice is triumphant and truth laughed at or ignored by millions of people — being firm and strong in precisely that moment is true greatness.

On may 10, 1940 Hitler's armies invaded Belgium. . . . Leon joined the Trotskyist movement in the summer of 1940 when Hitlerism was at the height of its prestige, when the Belgian reformist leader Henri De Man had decided to dissolve the Belgian Labor Party and to collaborate with the Nazi occupiers, when the Stalinists published a Flemish weekly which reprinted Goebbels' anti-British propaganda, when the former Trotskyist leader Walter Dauge abandoned the struggle for socialism.

Faced with the lowest ebb of the European labor movement, Leon foresaw a new rise, having serious reasons for hope.

After the tragic assassination of Leon Trotsky, (on August 20, 1940) Leon wrote the first illegal pamphlet of the Belgian Trotskyist movement. The latter was reorganized and an executive committee set up. Leon became the party's political secretary and the editor of its illegal paper "La Voie de Lenine" (Lenin's Road) which was published at a time when the Stalinists still believed in the Hitler-Stalin Pact and when no reformist publication or illegal activity could yet yet be seen.

In July 1941 the Central Committee of the Trotskyist party was reconstituted. In August, 1942, Leon established contacts with the French Trotskyists by meeting their leader, the late Marcel Hic, and other French revolutionists in the Ardennes Mountains. In February 1944 Leon illegally travelled to France and participated in the secret European Conference of the Fourth International.

"The Jewish Question, A Marxist Interpretation" was written in 1941 despite Leon's never ceasing daily work for the Party. There was not a single event in Belgium since 1941 in which the Party had remained on the sidelines, Leon pointed out at the illegal party convention in July 1943. And this certainly was an achievement for so small an organization which, moreover, sorely lacked a sufficient number of cadres.

WERMACHT SOLDIERS

Leon personally assumed the direction of party work among proletarian soldiers of the Wehrmacht. In 1944 the Party organized an illegal movement of miners' delegates in fifteen coal pits in the Charleroi region. In Liege it hoped to set up underground factory committees in the metallurgical plants.

One day in the last year of Nazi occupation Leon was arrested by a German Military Police Patrol. A most unfortunate coincidence made them find his hiding place. He was tortured, but betrayed nothing. After having been able to write several letters full of projects for the Party's future which were smuggled to his comrades by a German soldier whose sympathy he had gained, he was deported before an attempt for his rescue could be completed. After several weeks of forced labor his physical resistance was exhausted. Sick, he spent his last days in reading and meditation. Then the Nazis killed him. — Thus, after only 26 years, ended the life of Leon, a great thinker, a great man.

(To be continued.)

THE MILITANT

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Truman on Casualties

By Fred Hart

The man who ordered the first use of atomic bombs on crowded civilian centers has again demonstrated his moral idiocy. Truman last week belittled the appalling number of U.S. casualties in his Korean "police action" and complained because this frightful and steadily mounting toll is "on the mind and tongue of every citizen."

Addressing the fifth annual Highway Safety conference on June 13, Truman departed from his prepared speech to attack those who speak of the war casualties. "The total casualties for the whole operation (U.S. intervention in Korea — Ed.) have been less than 80,000 and that includes everything — sickness, death in jeeps by accidents, killed on the front, captured on the front and wounded," Truman said. "That is on the mind and tongue of every citizen, but right here at home we kill and permanentiy injure 1,035,000 people (in highway accidents — Ed.) and there is no outcry by the sabotage press, no misstatement by columnists or the Congressional demagogues. And I wonder why?"

We will dwell but briefly on Truman's lie about there being only 80,000 casualties. It is sufficient to point out that Gen. Omar N. Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, testified May 24 before the Senate MacArthur Investigating Committee that U.S. casualties in Korea totaled 141,955 — and these figures were about three weeks behind the actual toll. Senator Bridges has put the figure at 175,000 and no one has contradicted him.

But in comparing the war casualties to auto casualties Truman lightly skips over certain significant facts. Even he will concede that the law takes a different view if you run over a child on the highway who darts unexpectedly in front of your car than if you deliberately chase a child with your car and run her down. In the first case, it is unintentional, an accident. In the second, it is deliberate murder.

Nobody is compelled by law to ride in automobiles. Everybody who drives or rides in a car or walks across a street — even Truman — takes on himself the risk of accident. But the American boy who is forcibly drafted into the Army against his will, sent to the Korean front to fight a war he does not believe in and the American people don't believe in, is given no choice. His death is no accident. He is a victim of murder.

Moreover, as the saying goes, figures may not lie, but liars always figure. The rate of auto casualties in terms of the number of people riding cars or walking on highways is less than one per cent. The rate of casualties for the U.S. combat troops in Korea is around 40 per cent.

Truman neglected to speak about all the war casualtes in Korea — the three million civilian dead, the 200,000 casualties among the South Korean and other UN troops, the millions of Chinese and North Korean casualties. These he dismisses as so much dirt not worthy of mention. If he is so morally blind to the slaughter of the youth of his own country, why should he care about colonial peasants and workers of another race?

It is quite true that there is a horrific toll in this country due to highway accidents. There are also hundreds of thousands who die each year of cancer, heart disease, TB and other killers who might be saved. And, in a way, all of them are victims of capitalist war.

With the hundreds of billions Truman is spending and preparing to spend to kill more millions in Korea and every place else in the world that U.S. imperialism aims to conquer, we could rebuild the whole highway system in America to relieve congestion and crowding and eliminate accidents. We could uncover the causes and cure of cancer, heart diseases and all the other maladies. We could eliminate bad housing and poverty.

Truman is no more indignant about traffic accidents than he is about the war casualties. He uses one to cover up the crime of the other. And if he has his way, we will have an atomic war in the not distant future which will make the highway and Korean war toll combined seem small by comparison.

"Self Sustaining Paradise"

By Tom Conlan

We do not as a rule go out of our way to keep our readers informed about the latest capers of the ultra-snobbish social set. But we feel obliged to make an exception. It has to do with society's most popular hosts of the year — not merely in the Western hemisphere, mind you, but in the whole of the "Western world." This truly breathtaking item was made public the other day by the Scripps-Howard society editor whose business it is to record for posterity the doings and misdoings of the billionaire playboys and playgals.

The current rage, it turns out, is none other than Mr. and Mrs. John Astor Drayton. Up to last year Mr. Drayton's chief claim to fame, apart from his tidy bankroll, was his nickname — Satan. But last summer Satan Drayton became suddenly inspired "with the idea of creating a tropical, self-sustaining paradise at Andros, the most primitive island in the Bahamas," breathlessly reports the Scripps-Howard society editor, and immediately adds that "rich relatives and friends were almost unanimous in panning the project."

Last summer, you see, these carping "relatives and friends" did not take Korea in particular or the Hell-Bomb in general as seriously as Satan and his spouse. They kept guzzling cocktails, swapping gossip and paramours and otherwise leading their utterly useless and meaningless lives. But not Mr. and Mrs. Drayton. They saw a miraculous vision, and with this in mind they set out to accomplish miracles.

And lo! while the "pioneering" couple "lived on their yacht," the jungle was cleared for hundreds of acres by "machete-wielding natives," and there was erected on the beach "a dreamy guest house." The island has in addition been equipped with fuel-oil tanks "for a fleet of yachts" and there is handy a refrigerated freighter and a deep-freeze boat.

The plantation itself has "enormous potentialities for castor bean, copra and sisal hemp production." But this barely scratches the full potentialities of this "primitive paradise." The list of eager house-guests, headed by the one-time skeptics, has grown so large that the gracious hosts could not possibly accommodate "100th of the people who want to drop in."

The popular hosts have solved this ticklish problem with rare initiative and even more exemplary tact. To accomodate the snowballing demand they are now "building a resort hotel." The yacht trade who "can pay for the privilege of sharing the Bahamas paradise" will be all the more appreciative. The hosts obviously know their customers, and vice versa.

We do not know whether the Drayton "self-sustaining paradise" falls under the provisions of Truman's "Point 4" program for the development of backward areas. But if these enterprising "pioneers" are not granted tax-exemption under the above-mentioned heading, they can surely seek to amortize their current investments on the same 5-year basis as Congress has granted other essential wartime projects.

In any case, there is obviously no need for any one to worry any longer about the Hell-Bomb threat. A way out, and an entirely self-sufficient way at that, has been made available by this enterprising, not to say philanthropic, couple. The island paradise is there for anyone — anyone, that is, with a yacht or two, a little spare change and with the proper social credentials. Chalk up another thumping triumph for "free enterprise."

The Real Background

By Bernard Stanton

The N. Y. Daily Mirror reports the following dispatch under the headline: "7 Sparkplugs in Stomach, Going Gets Rough."

"Raleigh, N. C., June 16 (UP) — Hospital officials today reported they had removed seven sparkplugs, eight keys, a car wheel weight balance, an unfired .32 caliber bullet and part of a knife blade from the stomach of a 38-year-old Negro. Leon Burns was in critical condition at St. Agnes Hospital today following the operation. He told authorities he had been attacked two weeks ago by a mob in Georgia and forced to swallow the metal objects, but police doubted his story and were checking his background."

This dispatch is as much a commentary on the Mirror, one of Hearst's rags, as it is on "justice" in the deep South. The off-hand manner in which the Mirror headlines the story is revealing of its true attitude toward the Negro people. If a white man, say, a Southern gentleman, were involved, it would not take the same attitude. The story was printed on a back page sandwiched in between advertisements. The Mirror makes no comment beyond its flippant caption. Evidently, the story was worth the printing for a chuckle.

But why should one expect anything else from this large daily? Why should Hearst send one of his reporters down to the deep South to check the story, before printing it? We can hear the editor guffawing at the very thought.

The Mirror editors who thought up that screamingly funny caption, must have had a real laugh when they read the last line — "but police doubted his story and were checking his background."

The North Carolina police would, of course, never dream of checking on the mob which forced their victim to swallow the metal objects. The United Press, which sent out the dispatch, does not suggest it. Nor does the UP bother to explain why a man should voluntarily swallow such objects as bullets or knife blades. What will the police find by checking the victim's background? Is the victim suspect for not being killed outright? Will something be found in his background to convict him of some crime in case he recovers?

Any honest reporter would have investigated and reported the full story. Are mobs still operating unchecked against innocent and helpless Negroes? Are the police winking at and conniving with these mobs? Is the Ku Klux Klan still riding high? Here is a story to be written worthy of a great newspaper. But it's dynamite for the capitalist press. Its honest reporters are reserved for fiction and the movies.

They simply dismiss the matter by stating, "the police were checking his (the victim's) background." What inhuman mockery! The editors and writers have become so prostituted and degraded that they can print such tripe without batting an eye.

Each time an atrocity is commited against a Negro in this country, it is his "background" that is checked. The background of Leon Burns, like that of millions of other Negroes in the deep South and in the North is easy to establish. Economically — the most degraded section of the population. Politically, no representation. Socially, outcasts from the day they are born. That is Leon Burns' background.

After all the pious sentiments expressed in behalf of civil rights, democracy and freedom, by such "champions" of liberty as Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, the Negro people continue to suffer from the most terrible repressions. And the capitalist rulers of America, from Truman to Hearst, have no shame in asking the Leon Burnses and the John Derricks, and the Ferguson brothers, or the Trenton Six, to fight and die for "freedom and democracy" — as, say, in Korea.

"I Have Returned from the Dead"

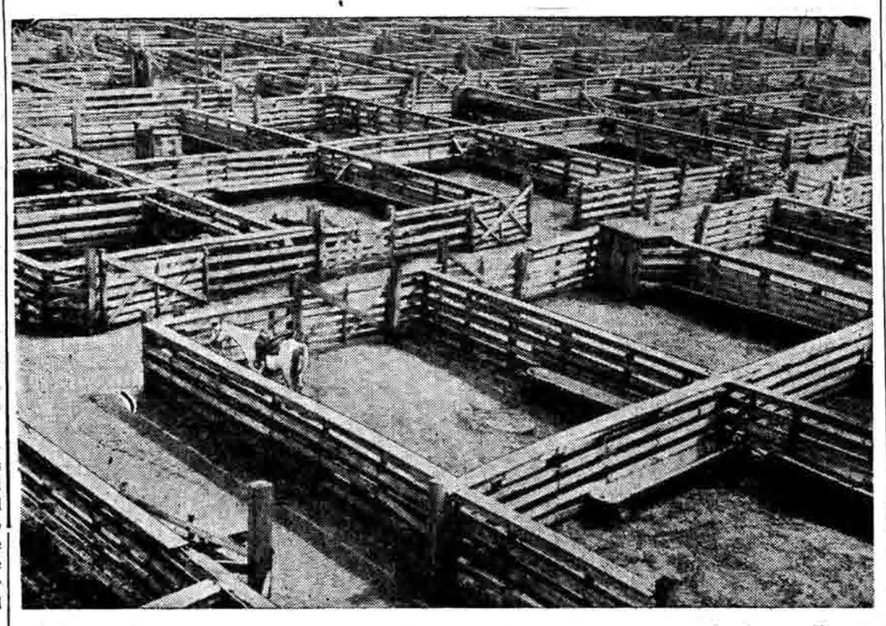
DETROIT, June 5 — Augusta Ford, 21-year-old Negro, was sentenced last September to serve 35 to 40 years in prison for rape and robbery. "I have returned from the dead," Ford said, when he was released last Monday, after serving nine months of his sentence.

Augusta Ford owes his freedom to his own efforts. While serving his prison sentence he proved that on the night of the alleged attack May 31, 1950, he was in a Detroit jail on a minor misdemeanor charge.

Standing before Judge O. Z. Ide, and Prosecutor O'Brien, the same pair who had railroaded him, Ford bitterly denounced the frame-up justice of white-supremacy courts.

"I nearly went insane thinking about this. You offered false evidence to the jury. I was railroaded by the police and prosecutor's office so they could get a conviction. Thank God I was lucky enough to be in jail at the time, or no one would have ever believed me. I'm glad Michigan does not have capital punishment, or I probably would be dead."

Meat Trust Holds Out



The Big Four meat packers were witholding beef during the past few weeks, in an effort to push up the price of meat. As a result of their pressure, the Big Business controlled Congress cancelled further beef price rollbacks.

NEW C.P. INDICTMENTS PERIL ALL CIVIL RIGHTS

NEW YORK, June 20 — Twenty-one leaders of the Communist Party were indicted here today by a Federal Grand Jury in a Justice Department move that signalises the expansion of the witchhunt on a broad scale as a result of the Supreme Court decision upholding the constitutionality of the notorious Smith Gag Act. Seventeen early morning arrests were made in typically secret police style, while the remaining four are being sought.

The arrested 17 were arraigned on the strength of a fantastic indictment, which, by a brazen vagueness, indicates the contempt felt by the government for any serious process of law, and a feeling of arrogant confidence that under prevailing conditions any "anti-communist" indictments, no matter how slipshod or foolish, will be upheld in the courts.

"OVERT ACTS"

In all, 29 "overt acts" are charged in the indictment. Fully 15 of these, simply allege that the defendant "did issue a directive and cause it to be circulated," adding in some cases "through Political Affairs" (Stalinist party magazine).

Six other listed "overt acts" allege participation in "a meeting" or a class, in most cases without indicating the location, purpose, composition or nature of the alleged meeting. In one case, the charge is that the defendant participated in a meeting of the International Workers Order, a fraternal and insurance organization.

In two cases, charges are apparently based solely on the appearance or activities of a defendant at 35 E. 12th St., the CP national headquarters building, which also contains a public bookstore. Other charges are: "did deliver a report at a meeting;" "taught at the Jefferson School;" became a section organizer, and "did write and cause to be published a pamphlet" without specifying the nature of the pamphlet.

EXPULSION CHARGED

Two defendants are charged with having participated in the expulsion of Max Bedacht, former Stalinist leader. While this action can well be taken as a sample of the rigid bureaucratism which grips the Stalinist party, it is hard to imagine how it can be called an illegal action or a crime. Apparently the government is satisfied, as all counts of the indictment show, that even the flimsiest and most senseless charges, as long as they are "anti-communist" charges, will see them through the courts.

The indictment was accompanied by the announcement that "hundreds" of further arrests are being prepared. This should open the eyes of some overly confident liberals who, while deploring the present witchhunt, have expressed the opinion that the Palmer "Red-Raids" of 30 years ago will not be repeated today. It is plain that the government has in view a far more sweeping and dangerous campaign than the persecutions of the early Twenties. Instead of a hasty, hysterical and ill-planned attack on civil rights, as took place then, what is contemplated today by "Palmer" McGrath is a methodical, ever-widening witchhunt exceeding in scope and viciousness the attack three decades ago.

SWP CASE

This indictment is the first fruit of the Supreme Court decision earlier this month upholding the constitutionality of the Smith Gag Act, and turning down the appeal of 11 top Stalinist leaders who had previously been convicted under this act. The first conviction under the notorious gag law came in 1941, when 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Minneapolis Teamsters were framed and railroaded on similar charges.

Now that they have gone after two batches of CP leaders, it is clear that the government will not stop at this point. They have already planned to go after more. It is not out of sympathy for the Stalinists or support of their policies that these mass prosecutions ought to be opposed.

If the CP can be virtually outlawed simply because of its views and expressions, other groups can be prosecuted in the same way under the same law. Indictments like those against the CP leaders can be used in the future against other critics of administration policy or of Big Business government.

The twenty-one indicted today include Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Claudia Jones, Alexander Bittelman, Alexander Trachtenberg, V. J. Jerome, Al Lannon, Louis Weinstock, Arnold Johnson, Wm. Weinstone, Israel Amter, I. Begun, and Simon Gerson. All arrests were made in New York, with the exception of that of A. Johnson, who was arrested in Pittsburgh. The United Press has indicated that future arrests are slated for Philadelphia, Chicago and San Francisco.

Art Preis Stricken, Is Operated On

NEW YORK, June 21 — Art Preis, veteran Militant reporter and outstanding revolutionary journalist, was stricken today and rushed to Beth Israel Hospital.

Comrade Preis suffered a perforated ulcer, which resulted in peritonitis. He was immediately operated upon.

Attending physicians report that Comrade Preis has an excellent chance of full recovery.

Comrade Preis' brilliant contributions to the columns of the Militant have been a favorite of readers for a period of ten years. His articles in the past few months on the Korean war, exposing the imperialist atrocities there, have been reprinted in the labor press all over the world.

June 26 Trial Set in Case of "Legless Vet"

(Continued from Page 1)

arising from Truman's loyalty purge of government workers. Now his appeal has been given added importance by recent Supreme Court decisions on the loyalty program.

The Supreme Court ruled in the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee case that the Attorney General had no right to blacklist organizations without a prior hearing. Such a hearing was denied Kutcher's party. At the same time the justices by a 4 to 4 vote refused to review the discharges of Dorothy Bailey and of 29 postal employees also discharged in the loyalty purge.

Many authorities and newspapers have stressed the absurdity of the position in which the court now stands. In effect, the Supreme Court holds it is unconstitutional for the administration to blacklist an organization without a hearing and yet refuses to protect the civil and job rights of individuals victimized by such illegal procedures. Justice Jackson correctly stated: "This is justice turned bottom-side-up."

HANGS IN BALANCE

As a consequence of these clearly inconsistent decisions the law regulating the entire loyalty program now hangs in the balance. The Kutcher case can become the vehicle for tipping it in a favorable direction. It is the only loyalty case now before the higher courts. It presents the basic issues involved in the clearest form. There is no dispute about the essential facts in the case. While the other victims of the purge did not admit membership in any of the proscribed organizations, Kutcher does and defends his right to belong to the party of his choice.

When his appeal is taken to the Supreme Court, as either side will do, the verdict rendered may well prove decisive in determining the constitutionality of the loyalty purge procedures.

That is why the American Civil Liberties Union is filing a brief as friend of the court in the case. The Kutcher Civil Rights Committee which is in charge of Kutcher's defense has issued an appeal for financial aid to pay for the expenses of the trial and the appeal to the highest court. Contributions for the legless veteran's defense should be sent to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, 19 West 10th St., N. Y. 11, N. Y.

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The Negro Struggle

NAACP Program And the GIs

By J. Blake

Delegates to the annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which meets the end of this month in Atlanta will undoubtedly agree that the most important single action of the organization this year was its defense of the Negro soldiers in Korea against the capitalist politicians and military brass.

The convention should recognize, first, the significance of the issue. The plight of the Negro soldiers is a broad popular issue which combines both opposition to the discriminatory frame-up courts-martial of Negro soldiers, and sympathy with the general distaste of soldiers and civilians alike for "operation slaughter" in Korea. The various charges of failure to obey orders, or refusal to advance in the face of the enemy were understood as descriptive of a widespread situation in Korea for which the Army chose to make Negroes the whipping boys. The courts-martial also focused attention on the complete lack of democracy in the Army which makes it possible for officers arbitrarily to single out those whom they wish to victimize, and to utilize all the totalitarian procedures of Army discipline to deprive them of even the formal democratic protection of civil rights of other American citizens.

The method employed by the NAACP in defense of the GI's was that of public investigation and exposure of the inhuman treatment of the soldiers and the injustice of the court martial procedure, the assigning of blame to the jim crow Army, and the public demand for redress.

The response to this method was an indication of the potential strength of the NAACP. Thousands packed public meetings to protest the condition, to express their support for the struggle against it, and to contribute to the campaign.

But as the Kansas City Call said when these meetings were at their height: "After the din of applause has died, then what?"

That question has to be answered by the NAACP convention.

MacARTHUR AND DISCRIMINATION

Several alternatives are presented. The first, unfortunately, is already indicated in the line of those Negro leaders and newspapers which are attemping to use the plight of the Negro soldiers as a basis for petty political maneuvers on behalf of the Democrats or Republicans in the coming election campaign.

Negro Democratic party hacks are already soft-pedalling the responsibility of the Truman administration for maintaining the jim crow Army and the imperialist war in Korea. They, and this includes some of the NAACP top leaders, attempt to place all the blame on MacArthur by implying that his actions were contrary to the wishes of the Administration.

The Republicans, on the other hand, like the **Pittsburgh Courier**, are apologizing for MacArthur, attempting to picture him as a poor, misunderstood general who wouldn't stand for such a situation in the Army for a minute if he knew about it, and was the victim of bad Administration policies. All that is necessary to correct the situation, from this point of view, is to change the Administration policies or to give the commanding officer in the Far East more power.

Actually, the Republicans are right when they blame the Democrats and the Democrats are right when they blame the Republicans. But both lie when they say either one would eliminate jim crow or make the Army more democratic, or stop the whole imperialist slaughter.

The danger is that either faction among the Negro leaders may derail the struggle in defense of the Negro soldiers into petty political bickering.

A PROGRAM OF ACTION

The real alternative for the NAACP convention is to reject both the Democrats and Republicans and to continue on the course that has put both on the defensive — a broad, mass campaign against Army jim crow. This means the following actions:

1. Place the blame where it properly belongs, on the capitalist ruling class and its political spokesmen both in the Army and in Washington and the several states.

2. Stop throttling the masses in their protest. Encourage the mass meetings, picketing and boycott of jim crow agencies of all kinds instead of limiting participation of the masses to donations for legal funds.

3. Broaden the campaign by appealing to every union for support on this issue. Labor is a natural and necessary ally in the struggle of the Negro people.

4. Solidarize with the colonial millions who want no American capitalist jim crow anywhere.

5. Make the NAACP the kind of democratic mass organization of struggle for complete equality for Negroes that can lead and inspire. The response to the organization's limited intervention on behalf of the Negro soldiers has already indicated, as it did in World Wars I and II, the possibilities of winning a mass base through proper issues and methods.

Both in the interest of the GI's and of the general advancement of the Negro people, the NAACP convention should stop the attempts to mislead the struggle into the old rat-race of Democratic-Republican politics. Anything else is a betrayal of those who look to the NAACP for leadership.

"THE JEWISH QUESTION" A Marxist Interpretation

By A. Leon

Leon died in the Auschwitz gas chambers at the age of 26, but the book he left behind is one of the finest products of the underground resistance movement against the Nazis.

"Leon's approach is that of the orthodox Marxist. . . . His analysis. . . . is refreshingly lucid and sensible, and it offers us the opportunity to examine a solid statement of the materialistic interpretation of the Jewish question." — Oscar Handlin in the magazine Commentary.

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